/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

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619 642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

619 642 178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems,[69] Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.

619 61 182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.